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UCC
University College Cork, Ireland
Coláiste na hOllscoile Corcaigh

A Bookish History of Irish Romanticism

Claire Connolly

Irish Romantic novels repeatedly return to the importance and meaning of local and intimately experienced detail. Following closely in the footsteps of Edmund Burke's defense of a politics founded on a specific, just, and timely engagement with a properly apprehended past, these novels realize, in a variety of registers, a set of affective attachments to the local, the material, and the ordinary. I have argued elsewhere that the politics of such novels resides not in one or other ideological or confessional standpoints but rather in their openness to the divided world that they represent.[1] Even as they occupy themselves with histories of everyday life, however, Irish Romantic novels remain self-consciously absorbed with the complex historical and material processes whereby Irish life is realized within Anglophone print culture. In their concern with the materiality of historical detail and in their fidelity to their source material, these novels are closely linked with the emerging ambitions of historicist scholarship. They share with the evolving historical sciences a specific interest in the evidentiary foundations of the past and occupy, as Joep Leerssen remarks of the texts of Irish Romanticism more generally, 'an ambiguous position' between history and literature.[2]

In this, as in much else, novels share common ground with late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century antiquarianism. Novels and antiquarian collections both imagine an overflowing cultural bounty that is stored within manuscript and print media, and concern themselves with questions of collection, copying, collation, and transmission. Clare O'Halloran argues that, from the 1790s through to the 1830s, Irish novels absorb the energies of antiquarian modes of history.[3] Her account of the emergence of new conceptions of Irish popular culture within Irish Romantic fiction demonstrates a key linkage between the creative work of imaginative writers and the collecting impulses of scholars and antiquarians. In terms of the material history of collection, the early years of the nineteenth century witnessed the beginning of 'the great push towards gathering in the manuscript refugees of Gaelic culture and civilisation', led by the Royal Irish Academy and animated by concerns about the fading away of the tradition of Irish manuscript production.[4] Anglophone fiction expresses a similar urge to record a living culture that is thought to be passing: the

very sense of passing and prospective loss gives Irish Romantic novels a plangently historical dimension, even when their topic is the quotidian or everyday life. In both cases, the diagnosis of loss propels significant cultural energies, and the relationship between cultural loss and ingenious acts of retrieval and energetic revivalism constitutes a central dynamic of Irish Romanticism.

This essay considers Irish Romantic fiction in terms what Leerssen describes as 'questions of cultural transmission, tradition and translation, processes of appropriation and adaption'.[5] If history itself might be thought of as 'fundamentally a literature of mediation',[6] then the study of Irish Romantic books affords a richly rewarding perspective on the processes by which the past is remade via acts of representation at once material and virtual. If we begin with one of the best known examples of Irish Romantic fiction, Sydney Owenson's *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806), we can track the many acts of transmission and transcription from which this first 'national tale' emerged. Owenson's correspondence with her publisher Richard Phillips debates possible models for her book about Ireland: he regrets that she has 'a assumed the novel form' and suggests an epistolary essay along the lines of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Turkish Letters* (1725), while also assuming her familiarity with travel books about Ireland by John Carr and Daniel Augustus Beaufort:

> I assure you that you have a power of writing, a fancy, an imagination, and a degree of enthusiasm which will enable you to produce an immortal work, if you will *labour it* sufficiently. Write only one side of your paper and retain a broad margin. Your power of improving your first draught will thus be greatly increased; and a second copy, made in the same way, with the same power of correcting, will enable you to make a third copy, which will be another monument of Irish genius.[7]

What is remarkable within the text of *The Wild Irish* Girl is the extent to which the labour of writing can be seen to shape the texture of Owenson's prose. Rather than fabricating footnotes and inventing sources, as an earlier generation of critics assumed, more recent editorial work on Owenson's novel shows how many of her notes and discursive passages are copied directly from seventeenth and eighteenth-century books about Ireland.[8]

It is worth pausing here on the special role of footnotes in the Irish Romantic novel. Novels which themselves were for a long time considered 'as imitative footnotes to a broadly English culture'[9] made a special art of the use of paratextual material, often gathering quantities of extra material which explain aspects of history, landscape, song, and story at the end of a printed page of narrative prose, usually presented in smaller print. Such notes are frequently analysed as 'devices of alienation', serving to remind readers of their distance from a world in which the main thrust of the fiction makes them comfortable and welcome.[10] Yet footnotes might instead be seen to offer a mediated form of intimacy, bringing readers into proximity with a palpable community of knowledge, derived from an array of sources and preserved in print.[11]

The novelists discussed in this essay, Maria Edgeworth and John and Michael Banim, are explicitly concerned with the extent to which their novels sought to copy from Irish culture, and worry also about the slightness of the novel form in relation to the copiousness of that culture. Their interest in the culture of the copy extends to technically ingenious attempts to add texture and tactility to the depiction of the Irish past: these link to the work of the Irish antiquarian and lithographer, Thomas Crofton Croker, addressed in the essay's final section. Part of my project here is to mobilize the bookish concept of the copy in order to focus our attention on the novels of Irish Romanticism as books: as medial experiments, alongside others, in finding ways of giving graphic form to the sights, sounds, and sensations of nineteenth-century Ireland. In this way, Irish Romantic novels can be thought of as mediated histories of everyday life in a way that more conventional historical texts cannot.

Irish Romanticism and book history

Catherine Gallagher credits the novels of Walter Scott as having 'set a representational pattern through which the wholeness of a culture was associated with the boundedness of the book describing it'.[12] Irish novels, too, might be thought of as limiting and restricting the culture they seek to represent by assuming an implicitly historical perspective on what is a living culture. Luke Gibbons has influentially imagined Irish Romanticism as issuing in compelling writing of defeat: 'on a collision course with Britishness and the ideology of empire', as he puts it.[13] For Gibbons and other critics writing in a postcolonial mode, this Celtic culture of valiant

defeat is always on the verge of escaping its own mediation in print. This has led to a curious and oft-repeated account of these novels as failed fictions: novels that are 'of interest precisely because of their failure as novels', as Derek Hand puts it.[14] Gibbons concludes his discussion of Irish Romanticism by invoking Charles Robert Maturin's 1812 novel *The Milesian Chief* and its compelling representation of the carnage of conflict: of the scene analysed, Gibbons remarks that 'the romantic hero may have been in the grave but it was far from clear that romantic Ireland was dead and gone, or safely interred in the pages of the literary canon'.[15] *The Milesian Chief* earned Maturin 'the vast sum of £80'.[16] The novel was printed in 3 volumes for Henry Colburn in 1812 with a 'Dedication to the *Quarterly* Reviewers', reprinted almost immediately afterwards in Philadelphia, and translated into French in 1828. Gibbons's other chief example of this compelling culture of defeat—Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies*—presents us with one of the most complex cases in Irish Romantic book history. The *Melodies* were serially published over a thirty-year period, illustrated by Daniel Maclise, regularly sung, performed, and adapted. Stunningly successful in terms of sales, and subject to a several legal cases, as texts, they continue to challenge critics with their complex mix of sound, song, image, print, and performance.

The suggestions of critics such as Gibbons and Hand (themselves echoing comments by Seamus Deane and Terry Eagleton) that the pages of the literary canon fail to properly contain the hectic world of early nineteenth-century Ireland resonate with Tom Dunne's understanding of Romantic Ireland in terms of new political and cultural impulses which were absorbed into pre-existing colonial patterns. Such static accounts of the relationship between text and context have produced highly stable and repeatable political diagnoses of Irish fiction as trapped within colonial history and problematically aligned with the politics of Union. If we understand these impulses and patterns in material terms, however, we can begin to see a more fluid and changing cultural world within which books move and change meaning. My discussion here takes the following set of questions phrased by Andrew Piper and applies them to the political charged context of Irish Romantic culture:

> What did it mean to reimagine a literary work residing not in a single book but as part of an interrelated bibliographic network? What was the cultural status of the copy and how did it relate to the larger reformulation of notions like novelty and innovation? What did it meant to reprocess an existing yet largely

> forgotten cultural heritage from one medium to another? How was one to contend with the growing availability of writing, where such availability was increasingly understood to be a problem? Finally, what did it mean to reimagine creativity as an act of intermedial making, as a facility with various modes of communication simultaneously?[17]

Few accounts of Irish Romanticism take cognizance of its mediations via print. At the same time, however, we are all too familiar with some of the difficult material facts surrounding the production and reception of such texts. The histories of the Irish novel and the British publishing industry are closely intertwined for this period. Many of the Irish novelists either lived in London or spent long periods there, while British publishers account for the vast majority of Irish novels published. Yet if we can cast off our embarrassment about the tainted nature of national tales that are less than fully national, we can pay more attention to the fascinating splits and divisions within Irish Romantic print culture, and begin to notice how—perhaps even *because* of these very divisions and splits—copying comes into view as a distinct cultural phenomenon, rather than as an unfortunately secondary aspect of an Irish culture too closely bound to the London market.

It is helpful here to address the situation of the early nineteenth-century Irish book trade. The Act of Union in 1801 meant, among other things, the extension of the Copyright Act of 1709 to Ireland in 1801, all but killing off an Irish publishing industry that was reliant on markets for cheap reprints in Ireland, Britain, the American colonies, and the West Indies. Scholars such as Mary Pollard and James Raven have helped us to gauge the quantity of London published novels which were reprinted in Dublin in the later decades of the eighteenth century and have shown us a pre-Union Dublin book trade that was characterized by reprints: because they were effectively piracies once they left Ireland, the Irish book trade consisted of publishers that were copy shops and whose business can seem, as Pollard puts it, 'a pale and inferior reflection of that of London'.[18] After 1801, reprints became 'extremely rare'.[19] Many Dublin booksellers emigrated to the eastern US after 1798 and again in the immediate aftermath of the Union. Yet the transatlantic trade, which had been a contraband one until American markets opened up 1778 and 1780, was once more to become an important source of reprints, collections, anthologies, and adaptations.

Maria Edgeworth notes this as early as 1822: 'every English book of celebrity is reprinted in America with wonderful celerity'.[20]

This story is an often-told one and has been refined in important ways in recent years. But the wider question of a separate Irish readership for the Irish novel remains elusive, while increasingly close political and cultural connections between Britain and Ireland in the aftermath of the Act of Union challenge any attempt to disaggregate an Irish aspect to the overall picture of the novel in this period. The mixed British and Irish readership for Irish national tales belongs to a period itself characterized not only by closer political union but also by improved infrastructural links between the islands and a high degree of mobility for groups including migrant laborers, the military, members of the legal and medical professions, and authors themselves. A fuller sense of this complex readership is emerging from the work of scholars such as Toby Barnard, Maire Kennedy, and Rolf Loeber, but my purpose here is to focus our attentions on the books themselves: their fate on the busy London market, especially in the period in which the Irish novel becomes a recognizable commodity as fictions of Irish life are bought and sold.

The novels of Irish Romanticism were almost all published in the period in which we can begin to talk about publishing proper: the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Adrian Johns argues, is when we see the usage of 'the term, "publishing", … to denote a discrete and stable commercial practice'. (Johns points out that the earliest usage given by the OED is attributed to Scott, 'a provenance that is almost too appropriate'.)[21] The idea of the copy, as we understand it today, itself also emerges from this moment: the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century idea of the copy was in part produced by the dramatic expansion in printed books in Europe and North America. A literary work does not exist merely as a single book but rather as something that acquires identity via its existence as part of a bibliographic network. The matter is not straightforward, however. William St Clair, for example, instructs us not to speak of copies proper until stereotyping, because moveable type and the hand press basically meant more texts rather than more copies of existing texts (for practical reasons, 'forms could rarely left standing from impression to impression').[22] Books were still more borrowed than read during the early decades of the nineteenth century, which meant that publishers paid well for copyright while fostering 'a cult of exclusivity'.[23] Changes in technology (the steam-driven rotary press, the development of stereotype plates, and mechanized paper production) finally began to make a

difference and contributed to the increasing willingness of publishers in the 1830s to produce collected and serial editions of fiction.[24]

On the other hand, the idea of the copy is operating powerfully in cultural terms in the Romantic period. As Piper puts it, a number of writers and artists begin to think seriously about 'the imaginative possibility that something stayed the same'.[25] The debates here are generative and allow us to track one of the most compelling paradoxes of the Romantic book: that the book is what makes 'ideas more stable, repeatable, sequential, national, and … individual'; while at the same time, the real world of books defies boundedness and regularity by being many, secondary, and imperfect, always receding against 'the elaborate bibliographical horizon in which novels proliferated and circulated'.[26] Piper is very good on this paradoxical relationship between the ideal of books as uniform, bounded, and countable, and the reality of books as frangible, numerous things whose very proliferation threatens to overwhelm their readers. From this paradox flow others, with the division between original and copy always under threat.

Compliments, copies, and Maria Edgeworth

This section of the essay addresses, via the case of Maria Edgeworth, the difficulties of getting copies of books; the problems of being copied and of making good copies; and the relationship between modest and more highly charged kinds of copying in the context of a developing realist aesthetic. Among the Irish novelists of the period under consideration, Maria Edgeworth stands out for the depth of her fictional commitment to a historicized version of everyday life. What Ina Ferris calls 'the question of how it is people live in everyday historical time'[27] was posed repeatedly by Edgeworth, and became for her closely associated with the aesthetic achievements of her contemporary, Walter Scott. In 1814, Edgeworth addressed a letter to the 'Author of *Waverley*', in which she depicts a domestic scene of reading located within communicative contexts of Irish Romanticism. Expressing her admiration for Scott's novel and its ability to establish incident and impact by degree, Edgeworth's letter builds towards a comparison with Shakespeare and the curiously negative compliment with which she concludes: there is nothing volatile or shocking or improbable in this novel's imitation of nature and of character, and it is all the more engaging for this reason.

To the Author of *Waverley.*

Edgeworthstown, *Oct*. 23, 1814.

Aut Scotus, Aut Diabolus!

> We have this moment finished *Waverley*. It was read aloud to this large family, and I wish the author could have witnessed the impression it made — the strong hold it seized of the feelings both of young and old — the admiration raised by the beautiful descriptions of nature — by the new and bold delineations of character — the perfect manner in which character is ever sustained in every change of situation from first to last, without effort, without the affectation of making the persons speak in character — the ingenuity with which the each person introduced in the drama is made useful and necessary to the end — the admirable art with which the story is constructed and with which the author keeps his own secrets till the proper moment when they should be revealed, whilst in the meantime, with the skill of Shakespear, the mind is prepared by unseen degrees for all the changes of feeling and fortune, so that nothing, however extraordinary, shocks us as improbable: and the interest is kept up to the last moment.[28]

The passage is often read for its depiction of the transfer of novelistic power and cultural legitimacy from the successful Irish woman writer of national tales to the Scottish man of letters and inaugurator of the genre of historical fiction. In such a reading, Edgeworth is on her way to becoming the secondary figure so often found in twentieth-century literary histories. This secondariness belongs more generally to a diagnosis of Irish Romanticism as trapped in the shadows of British power: Tom Dunne, for example, influentially argues that '[t]here was no "Romantic" era in early nineteenth-century Ireland, only Romantic impulses which were absorbed into already established patterns of response to the colonial experience'.[29]

Yet following the opening paragraph of this long letter, Edgeworth goes on to appraise Scott's novel in cooler terms. The negatives with which the letter opens take on a more critical edge, as she remarks unfavourably on *Waverley's* imitativeness of Henry Fielding and its overdoing of picturesque Highland effects. Edgeworth declares herself unhappy that the 'Author of *Waverley*' 'should for a moment stoop to imitation': she finds the addresses to the reader in *Waverley* too like Fielding, and

says ‘for that reason we cannot bear them, we cannot bear than an author of such high powers, of such original genius, should for a moment stoop to imitation’.[30] A distinction begins to emerge, which I will develop in this essay, between good and bad kinds of imitation: the humble and authentic copying from the life that marks the overall tenor of Scott’s novel and the Romantic-era novel more generally, and the problematic imitation of another author, one whose writing is, moreover, associated with highly charged fictional effects.

This distinction is by no means an absolute one, but rather expresses a set of observations that emerge in culturally specific ways from the print culture of Irish Romanticism. To temper the criticism, Edgeworth goes on to remark that her account will have been marked by the broken rhythms of her reading, and the difficulty of obtaining copies of *Waverley* at her home in Edgeworthstown, in the Irish midlands. Hers is a reading, she insists, marked by the very particular circumstances of the book trade between Britain and Ireland, and between Dublin and the countryside:

> I tell you without order the great and little strokes of humour and pathos just as I recollect, or am reminded of them at this moment by my companions. The fact is that we have had the volumes — only during the time we could read them, and as fast as we could read — lent to us as a great favour by one who was happy enough to have secured a copy before the first and second editions were sold in Dublin. When we applied, not a copy could be had; we expect one in the course of next week, but we resolved to write to the author without waiting for a second perusal. Judging by our own feeling as authors, we guess that he would rather now our genuine first thoughts, than wait for cool second thoughts, or have a regular eulogium or criticism put in the most lucid manner, and given in the finest sentences that ever were rounded.[31]

Edgeworth’s comments thus draw our attention to material issues: here we see an Irish writer at a distance from the London market on which her own books depend, making her address to a clever Scottish lawyer located in a city with a vibrant cultural market. These differences are constitutive of the differences between Irish and Scottish culture in the Romantic period. Ian Duncan argues that in Scotland ‘culture supplied the terms of a Scottish national identity that flourished within the cosmopolitan or imperial framework of civil society’.[32] Ireland, by contrast, wracked

by rebellion, famine, and unrest, and still suffering religious intolerance until 1829, is ill equipped to provide the kind of progressive, commercial, and entrepreneurial context required for literature—as it was coming to be understood—to flourish.[33]

Such divisions can, however, be interrogated. Ten days before the letter to the 'Author of *Waverley*', Edgeworth had written to her stepmother, Frances Beaufort, with cheerful remarks about a visit to Admiral Pakenham's nearby home: 'We went to Coolure and had a pleasant day. *Waverley* was in everybody's hands. The Admiral does not like it: the hero, he says, is such a shuffling fellow.'[34] And even Edgeworth's sense of being at a disabling distance from the main marketplace for books is not a eternal truth but rather one closely bound up with changing technologies of communication—she herself writes very engagingly, for instance, in 1821, of changes to reading brought about by the new steam ships, which were sailing on the Irish sea from the start of this year. Another letter to her stepmother carefully plots a simultaneous reading of Scott's recently published novel *The Pirate* (1822). Maria Edgeworth was visiting London at this time and her idea is that the Edgeworthstown and London branches of the family can all read the brand new book at the same time:

> Thanks to the printing press — the mail coach and the steam packet beyond the gifts of fairies we can all see and hear what each other are doing and do and read the same things nearly at the same time.[35]

To aid in the process, she sent home to Edgeworthsown a drawing of the ground plan of the reading arrangements in their London drawing room.

Despite these many interesting ambiguities and tensions, some basic facts about patterns of Irish reading and reception may be gleaned from Edgeworth's correspondence. Edgeworth regularly attests to the problem of getting copies of recent London publications in her correspondence: to her friend Lady Romilly she remarks, 'Oh the heart is sick with hoping and hoping before books reach Ireland —'.[36] While Scott's control of the publication of his novels was to become a key to his success, Edgeworth suffered many practical problems in relation to her own writing, caused by distance from and dependence on the London market. There are, for example, several references in her correspondence to pretenders to her name: in the Preface to vol. 4 of the 1812 series of *Tales of Fashionable Life,* the Edgeworths include a list 'of all the Works written by Mr. and Miss Edgeworth / Published only by J. Johnson and Co. St.

Paul's Church-Yard'. Yet in January of 1814, the year in which *Waverley* was published, Edgeworth received a box of books from her publisher Rowland Hunter with French translations of her tales alongside 'two works surreptitiously printed in England under our name, and which are *no better than they should be*'.[37] By 1842, Edgeworth was happy to agree to sign her name to John Murray's petition in favour of Lord Mahon's Copyright bill.

Another early instance of Edgeworth as victim of copying is reported in an 1816 letter to John Murray concerning Scott and pretenders to *Waverley* authorship. Here, Edgeworth reminds Murray of 'a singular circumstance that happened about Castle Rackrent — No name was to the first edition — An officer in the Buckinghamshire militia actually took the trouble to copy from the printed book and make an Ms of it and caused himself to be surprised one morning with the Ms. on the table and then acknowledged himself to be the author! How could anyone think it worth while to do such a thing?'[38] There is an irony here in that *Castle Rackrent* (1800) began life in an act of copying: Edgeworth took notes on the speech of the family steward, John Langan, and transferred these into print without, it seems, much further thought for their source.

There is a point (difficult to locate, but around 1814) in Edgeworth's career at which her reputation for admirable commitment to social reality became shadowed by criticisms of her uncanny and, some critics suggested, socially improper skill at copying from life. Following the publication of *Patronage* in 1814, Sydney Smith, otherwise an admirer of her work, wrote to a friend saying: 'If she has put in her novels people who fed her and her odious father she is not trustworthy.'[39] One of Edgeworth's own letters, written from Edgeworthstown in 1816, records a rumour that she has heard about herself from a Mr Ward, recently arrived in Ireland: 'He told me that he had heard in London that I had a sort of Memoria Technica, by which I could remember everything that was said in conversation, and by certain motions of my fingers could, while people were talking to me, note down all the ridiculous points!!'[40]

Edgeworth's correspondence yields further rich evidence of her interest in both processes of copying and its cultural meanings. A letter of 1819 recounts a conversation with James Watt, the inventor of the steam engine, about the stereotype printing of banknotes, and the technical difficulties of preventing forgery and copying. The immediate context is the report of a House of Commons appointed

Commission Inquiry into the increase in banknote forgeries, related in 1819 to agitation for the reduction in use of paper currency. She learns from Watt that technologies of reproduction keep alarming pace with the capacities of creativity:

> We went to see dear old Mr Watt — 84 and in perfect possession of eyes ears, and all his comprehensive understanding and warm heart — his eye as penetrating as ever. …So many recollections painful and pleasurable crowded and pressed upon my heard during this half hour I had much ado to talk but I *did* and so did he — forgeries on bank notes — no way he can invent of avoiding such but by an inspecting clerk and office in every country town. Talked over committee report — paper-marks — vain —Tilloch — I have no great opinion of his abilities — Bramah — yes — he is a clever man — But set this down for truth — no man is so ingenious but what another can be found equally ingenious — What one can invent another can detect and imitate. I mentioned my fathers scheme of employing first rate engravers — *above* imitation. But there are 500 now in England and Scotland — first rate and equal as far as any talents they could shew in the compass of a Bank note.[41]

Tilloch had invented and patented the process of stereotyping, and from the 1790s was trying to interest government in its use in the prevention of forgeries. Paradoxes of copying continue to build, as the same letter remarks on the singularity of the elderly Watt himself: Edgeworth is delighted to be promised an original engraving of his head by his wife, while she notes too that Chantrey has made a bust of him. Edgeworth's particular interest in sculpture, and Watt's work on a machine that would allow sculptures to be copied (a forerunner of 3D printing, Andrew Prescott suggests),[42] further reminds us that Edgeworth's interest in the mechanics of copying tracks the full range of mimetic possibilities, from the idea of copying as imitation, to what Michael Taussig calls 'a palpable, sensuous, connection between the very body of the perceiver and the perceived'.[43]

Copies and doubles

Alongside Edgeworth's technical interests in the mechanics of copying, the Romantic period in Ireland witnesses a tranche of bibliographically oriented novels, or bookish books: novels that capture within themselves the splits and divisions of the worlds in which Irish books move. John and Michael Banim are especially notable in this regard: they regularly use metaphors drawn from print culture (e.g. facsimile, copy, type, cliché) in their depiction of the complexity of Irish culture: in their novel *Crohoore of the Bill-Hook* (1825), the tithe proctor Peery Clancy is described as only one of many 'living fac-similes' of a frightful political system: 'the Bastille may have been torn down in one country and, the Inquisition abolished in another; but the Irish tithe-proctor of this day, and the Irish tithe-proctor of fifty years ago, are individuals of one and the same species'.[44]

The Irish novel flourished in a period of dramatic expansion for printed books in Europe and North America. The same period saw the rise of what Piper calls 'bibliographically oriented individuals': 'authors … editors, translators, booksellers, printers, librarians, critics and bibliographers'.[45] As the Irish Romantic book studies itself, questions of reproduction and copying emerge alongside psychological plots of doubling. Maria Edgeworth's novel *Helen* (1834) is markedly concerned with the practice of copying in both private and public domains. Several of the main characters suffer because their correspondence is copied by others. The heroine, Helen, pretends that some letters are copied from her private correspondence in order to protect the reputation of her married friend Cecilia, and faces a sacrifice of her personal happiness as a result. Cecilia's mother, Lady Davenant, risks losing her privileged place in court and diplomatic circles because of rumours that she has allowed a copy of a letter from 'an illustrious personage to be handed about and read by several people.'[46] (Edgeworth may be thinking of John Wilson Croker here, especially in his role as prosecutor in the Queen Caroline affair.) The illicit copyist turns out to be Lady Davenant's Portugese page, Carlos, whose communicative abilities lie at the heart of the mystery. Assuming that he cannot understand English, Lady Davenant allows him to attend her private parties and have free access to her correspondence. Even though she is she is teaching him to write at the same time, Lady Davenant fails to realize that he can, as the ever observant Helen puts it, 'speak, read, and write English'.[47]

The novel's treatment of the relationship between literacy and comprehension is complex. It is potentially related to elite fears about the spread of a kind of

uninformed literacy or monstrous education. It may also bear on the bilingual world of nineteenth-century Ireland: a world in which it was possible to disassociate, at least imaginatively, writing from reading. This link between copying, cultural difference, and monstrosity has been very well discussed by Aileen Douglas, who argues for the novel's Gothic resonances and compares Carlos's 'activities in his illicit copy-shop' to Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818). Fleeing for fear of capture, he leaves behind only 'remains': 'the writing "scarcely yet dry"', argues Douglas, 'recalls a corpse, scarcely yet cold'.[48] The suggestive linkage between 'reanimating bits of dead bodies' and 'copying bits of paper' in the novel tie it directly into a particular kind of Gothic, one marked by a concern with doubling, as forms of duplication both material and cultural.

Yet more compelling evidence for interest in the culture of the copy can be found in the writings of male Catholic middle-class novelists in the late 1810s and through the 20s and 30s. John and Michael Banim are often separated from Edgeworth via a literary history that allows religious background to establish lines of connection. Like Edgeworth, however, the fictions of the Banims strongly bear out Piper's suggestion that literary doubles not only represent an increased interested in diffuse and split forms of identity but also 'address a communicative world defined by increasingly reproducible cultural objects'.[49]

In *Revelations of the Dead-Alive* (1824) by John Banim we have a text that that focuses on the London publishing industry itself. The book consists of miscellaneous previously published essays and reviews crudely stitched together by Banim under pressure of financial hardship. Banim and his new wife had moved to London from Kilkenny in 1821 and within a couple of years had begun to suffer from the effects of what Michael Banim referred to as 'the escape of gas from my brother's balloon'.[50] In 1823, John Banim sold *Revelations of the Dead-Alive* for thirty guineas to Simpkin and Marshall. The same publishers issued his better-known Irish tales, co-written with this brother—the first of the *Tales of the O'Hara Family* containing *Crohoore of the Bill-hook, The Fetches,* and *John Doe*—in the following year.

The linking narrative that Banim created for *Revelations of the Dead-Alive* imagines the narrator in a state of suspended animation over a period of a year, in which he is able to project himself two centuries ahead to London in 2022-23. Banim's narrator possesses not only the 'rare and mystical attribute' of an ability to suspend life but has also learned while at school to retain a degree of consciousness

during the process.[51] He has learned, following much practice, to project himself forward into time for increasingly long periods in doubled shape. Hunger is the chief enemy of these journeys on the astral plane but some further researches lead Banim's narrator to the Americas and the purchase from some Otomac Indians of a certain kind of clay that will keep animal yearnings for food at bay for long periods. (The account of the clay is based on Helen Maria Williams' translation of Alexander von Humboldt's *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent, during the years 1799-1804*, which was published by Longman in 1814 and had reached three editions by 1821.)

From this 'leafy cradle' in the Oronooko basin, what comes into view is England: 'All I saw was in England, and appertained to England' opens the first chapter of these visionary travels.[52] The time traveller's commentary on 2022 examines London life and what are essentially the fads of the year 1823: fashionable clothing, phrenology, boxing, and astronomy are all satirized while the city's culture industry—periodicals, theatre, needy authors, and expansionist publishers—receives special attention. Meanwhile, we learn that in 2022 'the prime minister of England was the grandson of an Irish pig-broker and the keeper of the seals had resulted from a scrivener's apprentice'.[53] A lunar British colony has been successfully established, in spite of the 'scythes, sickles, and pitch-forks' of some rebellious natives led by the Man in the Moon. A 'grand rebellion in Ireland' has taken place in 1829, led by Orangemen alarmed 'at some prospect of relief and indulgence to the Irish papists' and put down by Captain Rock who was rewarded with a government sinecure.[54] 'Dead-alive' states afford an entry into the print culture of Romantic nationalism: literally in the case of this, Banim's second London publication, but also metaphorically within a range of early nineteenth-century Irish novels where dead-alive states provide a means of addressing self-reflective questions to the business of national fiction. *Revelations of the Dead-Alive* thus addresses the London that troubles so many accounts of the novels of Irish Romanticism: 'the rather unfigurative community for whose edification we write', as Banim puts it.[55] The time traveller's first destinations on arriving in this future London point to Banim's immediate preoccupations with the print culture within which he was attempting to earn his living. He immediately goes to Albemarle Street but finds, at 'the well-remembered spot where erst a flaming yellow plate elucidated, in gigantic letters, the abode of the mighty publisher', a sausage shop. Proceeding from there to Conduit Street (home of

Saunders and Otley and Henry Colburn before his move), he finds only a coach maker located behind Colburn's famous 'handsome front of pillars':[56]

> In a hurried pace, only recollecting, or only permitting myself to recollect Mr Colburn's genteel removal, extension rather, to New Burlington-Street, I hastened thither. Conceive my start— the house was a feather-bed and bolster factory![57]

It is only after a succession of such visits, to Bond Street, Maddox Street, and George Street, that the time traveller finally begins to understand the changes that have take place in the London he thought he knew.

The traveller then makes his way to the new home of the publishing industry, which turns out to be Primrose Hill. He fails to meet the all important Mr Quarto the publisher but learns some lessons about what is now popular: moral essays and poetry, above all things, in particular, epics, pindarics, and pastoral. On enquiring after the reputations of William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Walter Scott, Robert Southey, Percy Shelley, Lord Byron, and Thomas Moore, he is told that few of these names are remembered. Instead, the noted writers are Homer, Virgil, Tasso, Milton, Pope, Dryden, and Young. Meanwhile Lady Morgan's reputation continues to excite controversy and the painter James Barry has finally been claimed as a genius. The traveller expresses his surprise at the lack of originality in the list and is told that 'original'—the word is repeated—is 'a senseless word … that ages upon ages of experience have altogether exploded. Ours is the matured world, sir: thousands of fools and of failures have taught us, that nothing can be done out of the footsteps of a great precedent.'[58]

The text continues to debate the concept of originality as the time traveller discusses the publishing industry with a hard working underpaid author named Mr Drudge: the Romantic poets whom the traveller admires so much were too attached to this very idea, explains Mr Drudge, and the general cultural obsession with originality caused, he explains, 'the rapid and total decay of literature after, I think, the year 1856'. (Mr Drudge here reprises Edgeworth in her letter about James Watt: 'What one can invent another can detect and imitate'.)[59] Banim's gentle satire on a future neoclassicism that disdains the literary obsessions of his own times allows originality—as with England itself—to emerge as an object of scrutiny. It is worth

recalling too that, as this curious book offers a critical perspective on the idea originality, it does so via the perspective of a doubled narrator. Summarizing the book in a short but engaging discussion of the Banims, W. B. Yeats refers to the time travelling narrator as 'his *scin laca, astral body, doppelganger*, or what you will'.[60] The Banims continue to use doubled figures and plots involving doppelgangers in their novels. One tale, 'The Irish Lord Lieutenant and his Double', is particularly worthy of note in this respect, in that it imagines a professional double or 'copyist': an Englishman who looks very like a certain nobleman and whose mimicry takes him to Dublin when the nobleman is appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In Ireland, however, the 'copyist' finds that the consequences of his act of imitation are much greater than in fashionable London. He becomes involved in real Irish agrarian violence and flees back to London. In 'The Irish Lord Lieutenant and his Double' the question of the copy connects to the image of the double in order to address a public role—that of Lord Lieutenant—that is closely connected with the anomalies of union and the asymmetries of colonial power.

Antiquarianism and lithographic illustration

The Banims' interest in how the lived past could be captured in print extends into the area of visual representation. In his introduction to a novel called *The Bit o' Writin* (1838), Michael Banim complains that he and his brother had wished to include in the finished novel a copy of a text—a bit of writing—on which an aspect of the plot turns. This is the "Memorandle O'Sarvice", assumed to have been written by Murty Meehan, a character who has the role of 'public' or community writer, at the dictation of a retired naval officer, "the Ould Admiral". Murty, whom the Banims tell us is based on a real person, had given the authors an original memorandum,

> with the intention of having it inserted as it came to my hands. The printers were, however, provided with no font of type from which a *fac-simile* could be produced, so that my copy of the original went for nothing.[61]

The novel's frame narrative thus expresses a desire for additional tactility via the textual production of 'a *fac-simile'* but regrets the technical difficulties that prevented the transmission of the original, culturally specific, text. Such possibilities were,

however, beginning to open up within early nineteenth-century print culture, greatly helped by the illustrative techniques of lithography.

Invented in 1790s, lithography is method of relief printing which works on the fact that water and grease repel each other: a printing surface marked with grease and then dampened with water settles only on the unmarked parts of the surface. The printing surface was usually stone (lithography was sometimes called ‘stone drawing’). The process is, as its leading historian Michael Twyman puts it, 'encapsulated in the expression "like water off a duck's back"'.[62] Lithography was slow to make its mark and its impact on the British printing trade was minimal until the 1820s. It did, however, prove particularly suitable for the reproduction of particular kinds of graphic material: maps, plans, musical notation, autograph, and short-run printing that combined simple pictures with words. (Twyman even suggests that 'lithography can be seen as a forerunner of the desktop publishing revolution of the mid 1980s'.)[63]

Cork-born and London-based civil servant and antiquarian Thomas Crofton Croker was an early adopter of the technologies of lithographic illustration. Crofton Croker was involved with the use of lithography both in his desk job in the Admiralty in London, where he held the role of senior clerk,[64] and in his reproductions of Irish folklore in print. A founding member of the Camden society and probably a partner in the London lithographic firm of Engelmann Graff Coindet and Co, Croker was highly alert to the practical uses of lithography. There had been a lithographic press in the admiralty where he worked. In 1807 the Quarter Master General’s Office in Whitehall bought the secret of the process and some materials, and ‘the first successful production of the press, a plan of Bantry Bay, was published on 7 May 1808’. From 1811 the Whitehall lithographic press ‘really began to flourish’ and was regularly used for circular letters.[65]

The ways in which Croker’s technical knowledge of lithography was put to work in the service of the depiction of the Irish past can be seen in his connection with a young Irish female writer named M. G. T. Crumpe, who, only leaving her home in Limerick for short visits to London, was patronized by Thomas Moore, Thomas Campbell, and Edgeworth. Crumpe was clearly an expert networker: an exasperated Edgeworth reports that ‘All I can say is that Miss Crumpe may have every virtue and accomplishment but she wants the natural feeling of modesty’; while the poet Thomas Campbell tried to interest the critic Francis Jeffrey on her behalf,

maintaining that he would be ‘as convinced’ of her ‘talents’ ‘if she were the ugliest Woman in England’.[66] Crumpe’s access to Crofton-Croker serves to connect her into a network of other Irish writers in London and resulted in a further guarantee of the accuracy of her historical romance.

Colburn published Crumpe’s novel, *Geraldine of Desmond* (dedicated to Moore) in 1829, a year that marked a highpoint in the production of titles of Irish novels. Crumpe wrote to John Murray in 1830, telling him how ‘I have been furnished from a high official source with fac-similes of the autographs of the principal historical characters that are introduced into my work — Those fac-similes have been lithographed under the superintendence of my kind friend Mr Crofton Croker and will be annexed to the forthcoming edition — which I hope will invest it with a curious interest.’[67] The second edition of *Geraldine* features these fac-simile signatures at the opening of its first volume, while the third volume closes with the curious device of presenting most of the last paragraph (the final page of the volume) in a fac-simile of the author’s own manuscript hand. A fac-simile reproduction of her own signature is appended under the printed words ‘The End’.[68] The edition was advertised as ‘useful to the searcher after historical records’ / ‘The value of the second edition has been considerably enhanced by the introduction of a series of autographs of the principal personages whose names are introduced into the work.’[69]

Crumpe’s use of lithographed authographs depends upon a relationship between likeness and tactility, or what Marcus Boon calls ‘the tactile, contagious quality of mimesis’.[70] The novel used fac-simile signatures to underscore the accuracy of its depiction of a period of contested history, in the context of changing historiographical standards. As ‘writers grappled with the difficulty of giving shape to a historical sensibility no longer bounded by public transactions’,[71] individual autographs accompanied by a specimen of the author’s own hand might be seen to provide not just a guarantee of authenticity and historical accuracy, but also a kind of personally mediated access to the inner life of the past.

Antiquarian scholarship reminds us, however, of the difficulty of delivering on such promises. In the case of Croker’s own book, *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, we can see how this very early collection of oral folk tales strives, via successive editions and supplementary lithographed material, to connect the pages of a printed book to a culture that is represented therein. *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* was first published anonymously in London in 1825.

It went on to influence both Scott and the Grimm brothers, who translated it as *Irische Elfmarchen* in 1826. *Fairy Legends* has a complex textual history to which it is difficult to do full justice here, but the collection stands out for the way in which Croker sought to supplement the original stories with additional material. Following some doubts as to his own original authorship of the tales, Croker produced second and third editions containing lithographed material. This included musical notation (to supplement a tale where the character in the first edition is described as singing a song), a lithographed signature in the author's own hand, and drawings of fairy figures to illustrate particular stories.

Throughout the various editions, we can see how Croker, in collaboration with his publisher Murray, uses visual material to supplement and finally supplant the written word. Despite complaints in his letters to Murray about the 'wearisome job' of 'the correction of the press and the cobbling up of the Notes', Croker continued to make alterations to the text until 1834.[72] Across the editions, notes become shorter or are eliminated, as visual material extends across the printed page. In the third edition of the *Fairy Legends,* for example, lithographic etchings of fairy figures feature as embellishments at the end of each story. Crofton Croker's use of lithography clearly emerges from his particular technical interests in this exciting new medium—'the first essentially new method of printing to have been developed since the fifteenth century'[73]—but it quickly becomes a way of addressing urgent debates about the accuracy and authenticity of depictions of the Irish past.

Among Croker's remaining papers in the British Library can be found chromolithographic transfer plates, which experiment with new graphic images of Irish identity. Croker's interest in modelling such images helps us to understand the ways in which antiquarian activity imagined an abundant Irish culture in need of retrieval and transmission. Antiquarians like Charlotte Brooke wished to present Irish poetry as emerging from a continuous oral tradition from the bards onwards—almost bypassing print or being only accidently and temporarily captured within its confines.[74] A related problem faced field-based collectors of tales and legends such as Crofton Croker himself, who, as Jennifer Schacker puts it, were faced with deciding 'how to represent imported narrative traditions on paper—a problem of defining and then maintaining cultural and textual accuracy—and how to render those representations readable and meaningful'.[75]

Yet antiquarianism also, with what Susan Manning calls its 'object-cluttered commentary on, and resistance to,' history, repeatedly turns on the materiality of culture.[76] Indeed, antiquarianism had already phrased one of the key questions for the nineteenth-century Irish novel: 'the question of how print might and should represent the fragmentary survival of past culture'. Among antiquarians, this 'troublesome and much-contested' question saw answers which, as Manning notes, 'evolved from collection to collection through accusations and recriminations' as the 'distinction between collection, editing, improvement, imitation…and—at the extreme end—forgery, was elusive in practice'.[77] Beneath these plural and competing antiquarian activities lies the older meaning of *copia* as abundance. As Boon points out, 'the word "copy" comes to us from the Latin word "copia" meaning "abundance, plenty, multitude"'.[78] Its etymology returns us, he argues, to a paradox relating to 'the deployment of abundance'. As he puts it, *copia* directs us to 'both to the overflowing bounty of the harvest and to its storage for use'.[79] The movement from an abundant folk culture to its 'storage' within print culture is one made repeatedly within the print culture of Irish Romanticism, as in Crofton Croker's 1824 assessment of an abundant and living Gaelic manuscript tradition: 'Modern manuscripts, in the Irish character, may be met with in every village, and they are usually the produce of the leisure hours of the schoolmaster'.[80] Croker's difficulties in recording Irish life from London are thus at once addressed and amplified by his interest in various forms of duplication. His is a special case of a situation we encounter within Irish Romanticism more generally: a book aimed at more fully representing national life, which understands and interrogates its own location within and between cultures and media, and is deeply and often self-consciously intertwined with forms of copying.

Conclusion

I have been arguing that we have been too keen to see the predicament in which Irish writers find themselves in terms of 'already established patterns of colonial response'.[81] Instead, Irish Romanticism presents us with an innovative writing intertwined with forms of duality and reproduction that emerge from conditions that were lived as everyday in early nineteenth-century Ireland. In this essay I have

focused largely on expatriate authors but a fuller study of this topic would also discuss the extensive copying work undertaken for the offices of the Ordnance Survey (which opened in Dublin in 1824) and that of the Commissioner of Public Records. For the latter, James Hardiman paid the Gaelic scholar John O'Donovan a salary of six shillings each week, and breakfast each morning, for his employment in copying Irish manuscripts and extracts from legal documents. (O'Donovan is the basis for Owen in Brian Friel's play *Translations* (1980). Hardiman also had the poet James Clarence Mangan in his employ, while Jeremiah Joseph Callanan was paid by Croker to collect tales in Cork and copy them down on his behalf.

O'Donovan is remembered for his insistence on the respectful treatment of source material and his frustration at instances of incorrect or error-ridden copying. In a letter to George Petrie he says 'I am also fully convinced that unless we quote original and authentic manuscripts for the proof of Irish history, our arguments are baseless, and we leave the history of Ireland the same muddy thing which it has always been justly styled.'[82] This drive to authenticity passes through multiple acts of copying and emerges as a kind of creative interest in copying as practice. Marcus Boon argues that calls for 'a better understanding of practices of copying are continually being negotiated and refined by marginal communities today—defensively, in response to a global political and economic system that exploits them, but also autonomously, joyfully, as ends in themselves'.[83] The emergence of copying as an end in itself serves as a good description of writers such as Mangan and William Maginn in the 1830s and 40s. Mangan in particular is noted for his plagiarisms, pastiches, translations, and aesthetically charged practices of copying. More generally, the Irish literary culture that emerges in the 1830s seems to dilute emerging distinctions between creativity and criticism, and to defy the 'ideology of professionalism for literary production' that Ian Duncan associates with the Scottish Whig celebration of the civilizing power of a rationally regulated literary culture.[84]

Rather than seeing 'the agenda of Irish romanticism' as having 'come to an end', with its creative energies hampered by improvement and broken by violence,[85] I would argue that the culture of the copy continues to generate versions of itself. Twentieth and twenty-first century culture yields ample evidence of how richly generative these paradoxes can be. James Joyce depicted an angry and frustrated copy clerk in his short story 'Counterparts' in *Dubliners* (1914): in the story, Farrington is punished at work for his failure to make the proper copies of a document, and then

goes on to replicate the abusive behavior he receives in his own home. In *The Nonconformists' Memorial* (1989), the contemporary American poet Susan Howe mixes poetry and history in hybrid speculations on the figure of James Clarence Mangan (much admired by Joyce too). Howe finds in Mangan a kind of impossible original of Herman Melville's famous fictional copyist: 'I saw the penciled trace of Herman Melville's passage through John Mitchel's introduction and knew by shock of poetic telepathy the real James Clarence Mangan is the progenitor of fictional Bartleby'.[86] Melville's 'Bartleby the Scrivener' was written in 1853 but Howe improbably draws her evidence from Poe's annotations on an 1859 edition of Mangan's poetry, edited by John Mitchel. Howe's imaginative project, written with brittle awareness of her own Irish-American heritage, is motivated by a sense of historical loss and an inherited sense of marginality. *The Nonconformists' Memorial* resonates deeply within the culture of the copy. With its interest in Mangan's job 'as copier for Irish Ordnance Survey' and 'copyist and transcriber of documents',[87] its curiosity about Dublin journals of the nineteenth century, and its recollection of Percy Bysshe Shelley's *Address to the Irish People* (1812), Howe's book might even lay claim to the status of an alternative archive of Irish Romanticism. I end not with Howe, though, but with a text written by an Irish poet who counts among her scholarly interests the work of Maria Edgeworth.

Eiléan Ní Chuillenáin is, as Guinn Batten puts it, not only a poet of a lost Gaelic Ireland, but also a scholar of the Anglophone culture that succeeded and supplanted it.[88] Ní Chuillenáin's poem 'Daniel Grose', from her collection, *The Brazen Serpent* (1994), figures once more the problem of copying from life in the context of a highly charged history. The poem imagines the perspective of an antiquarian and artist of Irish ruins who trains his draughtsman's eye on an abbey that has lain in silence for three hundred years, 'While a taste for ruins develops'.[89] At this distance, Grose sees light, upright lines, and the dimensions of an intrusive nature; yet the buildings that he sketches were destroyed during the Reformation and the poem vividly evokes their violent history. The poem does not, however, simply indict the historical Grose's efforts to copy down this remnant of Irish antiquity but rather evokes the measured and powerful verse of an imagined 'old woman by the oak tree', whom Grose is using 'to show the scale':

He stands too far away

To hear what she is saying,
How she routinely measures

The verse called the midwife's curse
On all that catches her eye, naming
The scholar's index finger, the piper's hunch,
The squint, the rub, the itch of every trade.

Ní Chuillenáin's beautifully balanced poem stages a dream-like encounter between times and cultures. The poem's own concern with scale is mirrored in the shift from one figure to the other, male to female, England to Ireland. The distinctions made by Edgeworth in her preference for humble copying from the life over highly charged aesthetic effects are present here, meaningful once more, as they give powerful imaginative expression to the passage of time and the work of history.

[1] Claire Connolly, *A Cultural History of the Irish Novel, 1790-1829* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[2] Joep Leerssen, 'Ossian and the Rise of Literary Historicism', in *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*, ed. Howard Gaitskill (London: Thoemmes, 2004), 109-125 (109).

[3] Clare O'Halloran, 'Harping on the Past: Translating Antiquarian Learning into Popular Culture in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland', in *Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honour of Peter Burke*, ed. Melissa Calaresu, Joan Pau Rubiés, and Filippo de Vivo (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 327-44 (330).

[4] Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'Nineteenth-Century Irish Manuscripts', in *Treasures of the Royal Irish Academy Library*, ed. Bernadette Cunningham and Siobhán Fitzpatrick (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2009), 161-71 (161, 163).

[5] Leerssen, 109.

[6] Mark Salber Phillips, *On Historical Distance* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2013), xi.

[7] Richard Phillips to Sydney Owenson, 16 October 1805, in *Lady Morgan's Memoirs: Autobiography, Diaries and Correspondence*, ed. William Hepworth Dixon, 2 vols (London: W.H. Allen and Co, 1863), I. 254-55.

[8] See Claire Connolly, 'Introduction to the Text', *The Wild Irish Girl*, ed. Claire Connolly and Stephen Copley (1806; London: Pickering and Chatto, 2000).

[9] Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: the Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), xi.

[10] Richard Maxwell, 'The Historical Novel', in *The Cambridge Companion to Fiction in the Romantic Period,* ed. Richard Maxwell and Katie Trumpener (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 65-88 (77).

[11] I am drawing here on Mark Salber Phillips's stimulating discussion of the dynamic movement between intimacy and distance in his book *On Historical Distance.* See note 7 above.

[12] Catherine Gallagher, 'Review of James Buzard, *Disorienting Fiction: The Autoethnographic Work of Nineteenth-Century British Novels*', *Victorian Studies* 49.1 (2006): 109-11 (109).

[13] Luke Gibbons, 'Romantic Ireland: 1750-1845', in *The Cambridge History of English Romantic Literature,* ed. James Chandler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 182-203 (185).

[14] Derek Hand, *A History of the Irish Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 84.

[15] Gibbons, 203.

[16] Garside (ed.), *British Fiction,* DBF Record No. xxxx, accessed 30 September 2013.

[17] Andrew Piper, *Dreaming in Books: The Making of the Bibliographic Imagination in the Romantic Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 7.

[18] See, e.g., M. F. Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books, 1550-1800* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1989), v: 'Considered merely as a reprinter of London books, the Dublin book trade looks like a pale and inferior reflection of that of London. As something of a phenomenon in its very rapid development in the eighteenth century, however, it deserves study in its own right, not in spite of its reprints but because its prosperity was largely based on them while its market was chiefly confined to Ireland through most of the century'.

[19] *The English Novel: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles*, ed. Peter Garside *et al*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), I. 97.

[20] Quoted in ibid., 99.

[21] Adrian Johns, 'Changes in the world of publishing', in *The Cambridge History of English Romantic Literature*, ed. James Chandler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 377-402 (377).

[22] William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 21-22. See also, Johns, 392.

[23] Garside (ed.), *The English Novel*, I. 39.

[24] Ibid., See also William R. McKelvy, '"This Enormous Contagion of Paper and Print": Making Literary History in the Age of Steam', in *Bookish Histories: Books, Literature, and Commercial Modernity*, ed. Ina Ferris and Paul Keen (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009), 61-84.

[25] Piper, 56

[26] Ibid., 13-14

[27] Ina Ferris, 'Popularizing the Public: Robert Chambers and the rewriting of the Antiquarian City', in *Romanticism and Popular Culture in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Philip Connell and Nigel Leask (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 177-93 (177).

[28] Maria Edgeworth to the 'Author of *Waverley*', Edgeworthstown, 23 October 1814, in *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, ed. Augustus J. C. Hare, 2 vols (London: Edward Arnold, 1894), I. 226-31.

[29] Tom Dunne, 'Haunted by History: Irish Romantic Writing, 1800-1850', in *Romanticism in National Context*, ed. Roy Porter and Mikulás Teichs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 68-91 (88).

[30] Ibid.

[31] Maria Edgeworth to Frances Beaufort, 13 October 1814, in Hare (ed.), *Letters*, I. 225.

[32] Ian Duncan, 'Edinburgh and Lowland Scotland', in *The Cambridge History of English Romantic Literature*, ed. James Chandler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008),159-82 (163).

[33] See John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997), 44-50, 125-66.

[34] Maria Edgeworth to Frances Beaufort, 13 October 1814, in Hare (ed.), *Letters*, I. 225.

[35] Maria Edgeworth to Mrs Frances Edgeworth, nd [December 1821], in *Maria Edgeworth: Letters from England, 1813-1833* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

[36] c. **20 August 1816, Murray Correspondence, National Library of Scotland, MS**

[37] **Colvin (ed.), *Letters*,**

[38] **Murray Correspondence, NLS, MS**

[39] Quoted in Marilyn Butler, *Maria Edgeworth: A Literary Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 257.

[40] Maria Edgeworth to Mrs Ruxton, 18 September 1816, in Hare (ed.), *Letters*, I.

[41] Maria Edgeworth to Mrs Edgeworth, 4 March 1819, in Colvin (ed.), *Letters*, 176.

[42] Andrew Prescott, 'In the Footsteps of Boulton and Watt', accessed 20 June 2013, http://digitalriffs.blogspot.ie/2012/06/in-footsteps-of-boulton-and-watt.html

[43] Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (London: Routledge, 1993), 21.

[44] John and Michael Banim, *Crohoore of the Bill-Hook* (1825; New York, 1884), 51. The comment resonates with Brian Friel's play *Translations* (1980): 'We'll always have the Lanceys'.

[45] Piper, 4.

[46] Maria Edgeworth, *Helen* (1834), eds. Susan Manly and Clíona Ó Gallchoir, in *The Novels and Selected Works of Maria Edgeworth*, eds. Marilyn Butler, Mitzi Myers, and W. J. McCormack (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1999), IX. 216.

[47] Ibid., 218.

[48] Aileen Douglas, 'Maria Edgeworth's Writing Classes', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 14.3 (2002): 371-90 (387).

[49] Piper, 75.

[50] John and Michael Banim, *The Fetches* (1825; New York, 1884), 10.

[51] John Banim, *Revelations of the Dead-Alive* (London, 1824), 4.

[52] Ibid., 16.

[53] Ibid., 357.

[54] Ibid., 369.

[55] John and Michael Banim, *The Bit O' Writin' and Other Tales, by the O'Hara Family*, 3 vols (London, 1838), I. 15.

[56] Banim, *Revelations of the Dead-Alive*, 32.

[57]Ibid..

[58] Ibid., 72.

[59] Colvin (ed.), *Letters*, 176ff.

[60] W.B. Yeats, 'John and Michael Banim', in *Representative Irish Tales* (1891; Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1979), 93-97 (96).

[61] Banim, *The Bit O' Writin'*, I.

[62] Michael Twyman, *Breaking the mould: the first hundred years of lithography* (London: British Library, 2001), 2.

[63] Ibid.,

[64] See W. J. McCormack, 'Croker, Thomas Crofton (1798–1854)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2006, accessed 2 August 2010, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6741.

[65]

[66] Garside (ed.), *British Fiction*, DBF Record No. 1829A033, accessed 3 April 2010.

[67] 23 January 1830, Murray NLS Acc 12604/1298.

[68] M. G. T. Crumpe, *Geraldine of Desmond: or, Ireland in the Days of Elizabeth. A Historical Romance. Second edition, with autograph fac-similes of the Principal Characters* (London, 1830), 286-87.

[69] Garside (ed.), *British Fiction*, DBF Record No. xxxx, accessed 30 September 2013.

[70] Marcus Boon, *In Praise of Copying* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 57. Boon explores the issue in relation to designer handbags and the booming world market in their replication.

[71] Phillips, 142.

[72] Thomas Crofton Croker to John Murray, 18 August 1834. Murray Correspondence 40294, National Library of Scotland.

[73] Twyman, 3.

[74] Leith Davis, 'Refiguring the Popular in Charlotte Brooke's *Reliques of Irish Poetry' Urbe'*, in *Romanticism and Popular Culture in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Philip Connell and Nigel Leask (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 72-87.

[75] Jennifer Schacker, *National Dreams: The Remaking of Fairy Tales in Nineteenth-Century England* (Philadephia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 11.

[76] Susan Manning, 'Antiquarianism, balladry and the rehabilitation of romance', in *The Cambridge History of English Romantic Literature*, ed. James Chandler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 45-70 (50).

[77] Ibid., 57.

[78] Boon, 41.

[79] Ibid., 45.

[80] Thomas Crofton Croker, *Researches in the South of Ireland* (London, 1824), 331.

[81] See note 29 above.

[82] Quoted in Patricia Boyne, *John O'Donovan (1806-1861): a biography* (Boethius: Kilkenny, 1987), p. 53.

[83] Boon, 248-49.

[84] Duncan, 175.

[85] James H. Murphy, *Irish Novelists of the Victorian Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 10.

[86] Susan Howe, *The Nonconformist's Memorial* (New Directions: New York, 1989), 106.

[87] Ibid., 86.

[88] Guinn Batten, 'Boland, Mc Guckian, Ní Chuilleanáin and the body of the nation', in *The Cambridge Companion to Contemporary Irish Poetry*, ed. Matthew Campbell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 169-88 (183).

[89] **Eiléan Ní Chuillenáin, *The Brazen Serpent,* edition???**